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MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 120651 GUS 12/20/83 (TARPOFF, P.)

AG81 PEPK, AF, UR, US

SUBJECT: SOVIET ACTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SEPTTEL WILL CONTAIN OUR LATEST ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET ACTIONS RELATED TO AFGHANISTAN AND THE INSTALLATION OF A NEW REGIME UNDER BABRAK KARMAL. ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD BRIEF MOST GOVERNMENTS SOONEST AT HIGHEST AVAILABLE LEVEL ON THIS INFORMATION AND ALSO MAKE THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS:

--RECENT SOVIET MILITARY MOVES AND THEIR ROLE IN THE INSTALLATION OF A NEW REGIME IN AFGHANISTAN SHOULD BE A SUBJECT OF GRAVE CONCERN FOR THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND NOT JUST THOSE COUNTRIES IN SOUTH ASIA. THE SOVIET UNION HAS BOTH OCCUPIED A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY MILITARILY AND BEEN PARTY TO THE REMOVAL OF THE GOVERNMENT THAT ALLEGEDLY INVITED SOVIET FORCES IN. WE BELIEVE THIS REPRESENTS A QUALITATIVELY NEW STAGE IN THE USE OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES.

--WE HAVE FIRST-HAND EVIDENCE OF A DIRECT SOVIET ROLE IN THE FIGHTING WHICH OCCURRED IN KABUL DURING THE EVENING

OF DECEMBER 27 IN CONNECTION WITH THE COUP WHICH INSTALLED FORMER DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER BABRAK KARMAL IN POWER AND LED TO THE SUMMARY EXECUTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY.

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THIS BLATANT SOVIET ACTION IN IMPOSING, THROUGH DIRECT INTERVENTION, A REGIME ON THE AFGHAN PEOPLE WHICH HAS SUMMARILY EXECUTED THE PREVIOUS PRESIDENT RAISES FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS. REFERENCES BY THE SOVIET UNION TO ARTICLE 51 OF THE UN CHARTER AND THE TERMS OF THEIR 1978 TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH AFGHANISTAN CAUSE US TO WONDER IF MOSCOW IS NOT SEEKING TO APPLY THE BREXKNEY DOCTRINE IN WIDER AREAS. THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY CAN GET AWAY WITH THIS ARGUMENT WILL DEPEND HEAVILY ON THE REACTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WE WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE US HAS NOT INTERFERED IN AFGHANISTAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND HAS CONSISTENTLY MADE KNOWN ITS OPPOSITION TO ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN AFGHANISTAN.

WE WILL SHARE FURTHER INFORMATION AS THE SITUATION CONTINUES TO EVOLVE. WE WILL ALSO WANT TO CONSULT ON WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MAY WANT TO DO TO PROTEST THE SOVIET ACTIONS. (FYI: AT THIS POINT WE ARE NOT ENCOURAGING UN ACTION WHICH MIGHT DEFLECT ATTENTION FROM THE UPCOMING SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE IRANIAN ISSUE. END FYI.)

WE WOULD APPRECIATE ADDRESSEES SHARING WITH US ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THEM AS WELL AS THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS FOR REGIONAL AND WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY.

WE WOULD ENCOURAGE MOST GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE THEIR PROFOUND CONCERN ABOUT THE SOVIET ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN CLEAR IMMEDIATELY TO THE SOVIET UNION BOTH IN MOSCOW AND IN CAPITALS AND THROUGH THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

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3. FOR MOSLEM AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES: YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS AT YOUR DISCRETION:

--WE HAVE OVER THE YEARS RESPECTED AFGHANISTAN'S NON-ALIGNMENT.

--RECENT SOVIET ACTIONS SEVERELY LIMIT AFGHANISTAN'S ABILITY TO MAKE INDEPENDENT JUDGMENTS ON ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY AND RAISE BASIC QUESTIONS AS TO THE REALITY OF AFGHANISTAN'S INDEPENDENCE ITSELF. SINCE AFGHANISTAN WAS A NON-ALIGNED NATION, THE SOVIET ACTIONS RAISE GRAVE QUESTIONS FOR THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT.

--WE APPRECIATE THAT MOSLEM NATIONS IN PARTICULAR WOULD BE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET EFFORTS TO IMPOSE A REGIME WITH AN ALIEN IDEOLOGY UPON AN UNWILLING MOSLEM POPULACE, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE PROFESSIONS OF SUCH A REGIME TO RESPECT ISLAM.

--IT SEEMS TO US THAT ALL NON-ALIGNED AND MUSLIM NATIONS WILL WANT TO SPEAK OUT FORCEFULLY AGAINST THESE DEVELOPMENTS.

4. FYI: THE SOVIETS HAVE ARGUED THAT THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN IS AT THE INVITATION OF THE "LEADERSHIP OF THE STATE OF AFGHANISTAN" AND IN ACCORD WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE 1978 SOVIET-AFGHAN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY. IF THIS POINT IS RAISED, YOU MAY NOTE THAT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT INVITED SOVIET COMBAT FORCES IN. SINCE THE SOVIETS ARE LIKELY TO BE SENSITIVE TO THE FACT THAT THEIR INTERVENTION IN AFGHANIS-

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TAN MAY INCUR SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL COSTS IN THE NON-ALIGNED AND MUSLEM WORLD, WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE OPPOSITION IN THESE AREAS TO THE SOVIET ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN. YOU CAN USE THIS ARGUMENT TO PARTICULAR EFFECT IN NATIONS WHICH HAVE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATIES WITH THE USSR.

B. FYI: WE HAVE NOT YET TAKEN ANY DECISION ON THE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW REGIME. END FYI.

C. FOR BELGRADE AND BUCHAREST: YOU SHOULD MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE YOUR HOST GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE A MAJOR ISSUE OF AFGHAN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NON-ALIGNED CONTEXT. VANCE

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